

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BONN 02881 01 OF 03 161440Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 IO-13 SSM-03 ACDA-07 DHA-02
ORM-02 EURE-00 /096 W
-----161507Z 064157 /50

P R 161427Z FEB 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5669
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 02881

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, JO, IS, GW
SUBJECT: INTERVIEW WITH KING HUSAYN

BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL

1. DIRECTOR OF FONOFF DEPARTMENT FOR NEAR EASTERN
AFFAIRS BOECKER, WHO ACCOMPANIED FOREIGN MINISTER
GENSCHER ON HIS RECENT MIDDLE EAST TOUR, POINTED TO
THE FOLLOWING INTERVIEW AS AN ACCURATE PICTURE OF
WHAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER WAS TOLD IN JORDAN BY CROWN
PRINCE HASSAN. (GENSCHER DID NOT MEET
HUSAYN, SINCE HIS VISIT COINCIDED WITH THE QUEEN'S
TRAGIC ACCIDENT.) END CONFIDENTIAL

BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED

2. THE INTERVIEW (UNDATED) APPEARED IN THE FEBRUARY 11
EDITION OF THE WEEKLY NEWSPAPER "DIE ZEIT." EXCERPTS
FROM THE INTERVIEW, ENTITLED "FEAR OF TOO MUCH
OPTIMISM" FOLLOW:

BEGIN TEXT:

ZEIT: UN SECRETARY GENERAL KURT WALDHEIM, ON HIS TRIP
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PAGE 02 BONN 02881 01 OF 03 161440Z

THROUGH THE NEAR EAST, IS CARRYING IN HIS LUGGAGE A
RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR A RECONVENING OF THE GENEVA
PEACE CONFERENCE ALREADY IN MARCH THIS YEAR.

HUSAYN: WE NEED MORE TIME. MORE REALISTIC
DATES CAN ONLY BE FIXED FOLLOWING THE HECTIC
DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY WHICH NOW HAS STARTED. IN

THIS CONTEXT I THINK OF THE VISIT OF THE NEW AMERICAN FOREIGN MINISTER TO THE CAPITALS OF THE NEAR EAST, THE IMPENDING ARAB SUMMIT MEETING, OUR TALKS WITH THE PLO AND THE TRIPS OF THE VARIOUS ARAB LEADERS OF STATE TO WASHINGTON.

ZEIT: RECENTLY YOU STATED THAT THE ARABS SHOULD WAIT UNTIL THEY ARE ABLE TO NEGOTIATE IN GENEVA FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH. ISN'T THE ARAB FRONT NOW STRONGER THAN PREVIOUSLY?

HUSAYN: FROM A MILITARY POINT OF VIEW, ISRAEL IS STRONGER THAN EVER BEFORE. IT OWNS THE BEST AND MOST SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS WHICH EVER EXISTED. AND IT HAS LOTS OF THEM. COMPARED TO THAT, THE ARAB CONFRONTATION STATES HAVE FALLEN BACK SINCE THE 1973 WAR. THAT APPLIES TO ALL OF THEM, IN PARTICULAR TO EGYPT, BUT ALSO TO SYRIA AND TO A CERTAIN EXTENT ALSO TO JORDAN.

ZEIT: WILL THE IMPENDING ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL BRING ABOUT A CHANGE OF THIS ATTITUDE (ISRAELI FORTRESS MENTALITY)?

HUSAYN: ONE CAN ONLY GUESS AND EVERYONE IN HIS OWN WAY. ISRAEL'S INTENT REMAINS OPAQUE. FOR ME IT WAS ALWAYS CLEAR, EITHER TERRITORY OR PEACE. WHOEVER, AS ISRAEL APPARENTLY DOES, DECIDES FOR HOLDING ON TO CONQUERED TERRITORIES DECIDES AGAINST PEACE. THERE WILL BE NO COMPROMISE. ISRAEL MUST WITHDRAW FROM ALL

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PAGE 03 BONN 02881 01 OF 03 161440Z

TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN 1967 AND IN ADDITION RECOGNIZE THE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINE PEOPLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION AND FREE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FUTURE.

ZEIT: THE RIGHT TO A STATE OF THEIR OWN?

HUSAYN: WHY NOT, IF THAT SHOULD BE THE PALESTINE DESIRE AND WILL? ISRAEL, ON THE OTHER HAND, STILL TOTALLY REJECTS ANY INCLUSION OF THE PALESTINIANS. BUT WITHOUT PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION THERE WILL BE NO PEACE TREATY.

ZEIT: WOULD THE ESTABLISHING OF SUCH A STATE ON THE WEST BANK AND GAZA RESOLVE ONCE AND FOR ALL TIMES THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM?

HUSAYN: THAT'S THE WAY WE SEE IT, NOT ONLY MYSELF BUT THE MAJORITY OF ARAB LEADERS OF STATE. THAT IS ALSO

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PAGE 01 BONN 02881 02 OF 03 161448Z
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INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 IO-13 SSM-03 ACDA-07 DHA-02
ORM-02 EURE-00 /096 W
-----161507Z 064239 /50

P R 161427Z FEB 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5670
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 02881

THE POSITION OF THE RUSSIANS, THE AMERICANS, THE
ENTIRE WORLD. A WEST BANK STATE CERTAINLY IS NOT WHAT
WE ONCE DEFINED AS THE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS,
BUT SUCH ARE THE REALITIES WHICH WE ACKNOWLEDGE MORE
AND MORE.

ZEIT: HOW WILL IT BE POSSIBLE TO PREVENT THIS WEST
BANK STATE FROM BECOMING A NEW SOURCE OF CONFLICT, A
GUERRILLA BASE NOT ONLY AGAINST ISRAEL BUT ALSO AGAINST
OTHER STATES?

HUSAYN: THE CREATION OF A STATE STRUCTURE WILL
PROVIDE REASONABLE AND RESPONSIBLE PEOPLE THE
POSSIBILITY TO BECOME THE DOMINATING POWER IN SUCH A
STATE.

ZEIT: WOULD DEMILITARIZATION OF THIS WEST BANK STATE
BE AN EFFECTIVE MEANS TO KEEP THINGS UNDER CONTROL?

HUSAYN: ONLY ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCITY. BOTH SIDES
WOULD HAVE TO BE FURNISHED ASSURANCES FOR THEIR
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PAGE 02 BONN 02881 02 OF 03 161448Z

SECURITY.

ZEIT: AREN'T THERE REAL SECURITY REQUIREMENTS OF ISRAEL WHICH YOU WOULD HAVE TO ACCOMMODATE AND ISN'T YOUR DEFINITION OF "PALESTINIAN RIGHTS" PRECARIOUSLY VAGUE?

HUSAYN: THE ARABS MADE NOT ONLY DISTINCT BUT ALSO POSITIVE STATEMENTS CONCERNING THESE MATTERS. ARABS CAN ALSO BE REALISTS; WE CAN AND MUST ACCEPT FACTS OF THE PRESENT. WE HAVE REVIEWED OUR POLICY. EGYPT, SYRIA AND JORDAN ARE PREPARED TO CONCLUDE PEACE WITH ISRAEL. WE ARE PREPARED TO ACKNOWLEDGE ISRAEL, HER RIGHT TO EXIST WITHIN BORDERS RECOGNIZED BY INTERNATIONAL LAW. WHAT WE MEAN WHEN WE TALK ABOUT PALESTINIAN RIGHTS IS ISRAEL'S WITHDRAWAL TO THE BORDERS OF 1967, WE MEAN THE UN RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 WHICH ACCORD ALSO TO ISRAEL THE RIGHT TO SOVEREIGNTY, INDEPENDENCE, TO AN EXISTENCE IN PEACE. AS REGARDS SECURITY POLICY, WE THINK OF GUARANTEES REQUIRED NOT ONLY BY THEM BUT ALSO BY US. THE REST

THEN CAN BE RESOLVED RELATIVELY EASILY, AS FOR INSTANCE, THE REFUGEE PROBLEM OR THE PROBLEM OF COMPENSATIONS.

ZEIT: DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU DON'T TAKE ISRAEL'S SECURITY NEEDS SERIOUSLY?

HUSAYN: I DON'T MEAN TO SAY THAT. BUT THERE IS ONE THING THAT IS CERTAIN: I DON'T ACCEPT THE IDEA OF ISRAELI SECURITY AT THE EXPENSE OF ARAB TERRITORIES. AS FAR AS EGYPT AND SYRIA ARE CONCERNED THERE EXIST DEFINITIVE AND INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED BORDERS WITH PALESTINE. AS FAR AS THE WEST BANK IS CONCERNED THERE

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PAGE 03 BONN 02881 02 OF 03 161448Z

WAS MERELY A TRUCE LINE DRAWN AT THE END OF THE FIGHTING IN 1948. THERE EXISTS IN THIS AREA THE POSSIBILITY OF BORDER CHANGES. WE REPEATEDLY CONFIRMED THAT AT THE ARAB SUMMIT CONFERENCE IN RABAT, THAT IS, UP TILL OCTOBER 1974. AND WHAT I MEAN ARE BORDER CHANGES ON THE PRINCIPLE OF RECIPROCITY. IN VIEW OF ALL THESE OPEN QUESTIONS I CAN ONLY HOPE THAT THE ARAB AND WORLD PUBLIC DO NOT BECOME A VICTIM OF UNJUSTIFIED OPTIMISM.

ZEIT: AT THE END OF 1975, YOU DECLARED IN AN INTERVIEW THAT THE PLO SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN GENEVA FROM THE VERY BEGINNING, WITHOUT JORDAN. NOW YOU APPEAR TO WANT A SINGLE FACTION AGAIN RIGHT FROM THE START. JORDAN'S PARTICIPATING AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE IS NO LONGER A SUBJECT FOR DISCUSSION?

HUSAYN: WE WILL PARTICIPATE AS A FULLY AUTHORIZED CONFRONTATION STATE. HOWEVER, I DON'T KNOW YET WHAT OUR ROLE AND OUR AREA OF RESPONSIBILITY WILL BE. IN RABAT, AS IS KNOWN, THE PLO WAS DECLARED THE "ONLY REPRESENTATIVE" OF ALL PALESTINIANS AND MR. ARAFAT WAS ENTRUSTED WITH THE MANDATE FOR RECOVERING THE OCCUPIED WEST BANK AREAS. I REMAIN CONVINCED, THAT THE PALESTINIANS HAVE TO BE INCLUDED IN THE PROCESS OF RESOLVING THE CONFLICT, IF A LONG-TERM DURABLE SOLUTION IS TO BE REACHED.

ZEIT: HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE YOUR CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WEST BANK?

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PAGE 01 BONN 02881 03 OF 03 161451Z
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ORM-02 EURE-00 /096 W
-----161506Z 064269 /50

P R 161427Z FEB 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5671
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 02881

HUSAYN: IT CONCERNS A HISTORICAL ENGAGEMENT. MY GRAND-FATHER IS BURIED IN JERUSALEM. HE GAVE UP EVERYTHING FOR THE RIGHT OF THE PALESTINIANS TO A COUNTRY OF

THEIR OWN. I, MYSELF, HAVE PURSUED THIS AIM THE BEST I COULD. THE SAME GOES FOR THE POPULATION OF JORDAN WHO RECEIVED AND ACCEPTED THE PALESTINIANS LIKE NO OTHER ARAB COUNTRY DID. ORIGINALLY THE WEST BANK WAS PART OF A WHOLE, OF ONE PEOPLE, COMPRISING SYRIA, LEBANON, JORDAN AND PALESTINE. UNTIL THE CONFERENCE OF RABAT, JORDAN WAS BENT ON RECOVERING THE AREAS LOST IN THE 1967 WAR. IF WE HAD SUCCEEDED, WE WOULD HAVE PLACED THESE TERRITORIES UNDER INTERNATIONAL CONTROL, IN ORDER TO LET THE POPULATION DECIDE FREELY AND WITHOUT COERCION ABOUT ITS FUTURE. BUT ALL ARAB STATES AGREED IN RABAT TO ENTRUST THE PLO WITH THIS RESPONSIBILITY.

ZEIT: AND THE RABAT DECISIONS CANNOT BE SHAKEN?

HUSAYN: SINCE THAT TIME THE SITUATION HAS CHANGED
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 02881 03 OF 03 161451Z

AGAIN. NOW WE ARE CALLED BY ALL SIDES TO RENDER ASSISTANCE IN A DILEMMA IN WHICH WE ARE ALL INVOLVED. IT IS QUITE CLEAR THAT WE WANT TO HELP. OUR HEARTS ARE FOR THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE. WE ARE FOR THE REINSTATEMENT OF THEIR RIGHTS, FOR A JUST PEACE. BUT, HOW TO GET THERE, HOW THE DETAILS OF SUCH A REGULATION WILL SHAPE UP, ARE NOT YET CLEAR.

ZEIT: PRESIDENT SADAT RECENTLY MENTIONED THE NECESSITY FOR ESTABLISHING A "FORMAL CONNECTION" BETWEEN JORDAN AND THE WEST BANK STATE YET TO BE FORMED. HOW SHOULD THIS BE INTERPRETED?

HUSAYN: THIS HAS NOT YET BEEN DEFINED EXACTLY. SOME YEARS AGO, WE PRESENTED TO THE WORLD A PROPOSAL FOR A JORDAN-PALESTINIAN FEDERATION, WHICH WAS TO ENTER INTO FORCE AT THE INSTANT OF THE LIBERATION OF THESE AREAS FROM ISRAELI OCCUPATION. THIS CAUSED US AT THE TIME A LOT OF TROUBLE AND CRITICISM. TODAY MANY PEOPLE ASK THEMSELVES, AND THEY ARE RIGHT, HOW THEY COULD EVEN ENTER PALESTINE, UNLESS THROUGH JORDAN. THEY RECOGNIZE THAT THE CLOSEST OF TIES EXISTED BETWEEN THESE TWO PEOPLES AND HAVE TO EXIST, IF THE WEST BANK IS TO BE CAPABLE OF LIVING AS A STATE STRUCTURE. IT SIMPLY APPEARS UNTHINKABLE THAT THERE WILL BE NO CONTRACTUAL, CONSTITUTIONAL CONNECTION BETWEEN THESE TWO PARTS. ABOUT THE DETAILS, THE PALESTINIAN AND THE JORDANIAN PEOPLE WILL HAVE TO DECIDE.

ZEIT: TWO STATES, ONE NATION?

HUSAYN: PALESTINE IS SACROSANCT TO THE PALESTINIANS.
JORDAN TO THE JORDANIANS. BUT STILL, BOTH ARE
INTERRELATED BY STRONG, SOLID, NATURAL TIES. THE FUTURE
MUST BRING ABOUT A CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN THESE
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PAGE 03 BONN 02881 03 OF 03 161451Z

MEMBERS OF ONE AND THE SAME FAMILY. I MEAN
THAT THE DEVELOPMENT WILL TEND TO A CONFEDERATION OUT
OF WHICH LATER A JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN FEDERATION,
A UNITARY STATE WITH CANTONS WILL DEVELOP.

ZEIT: IS IT POSSIBLE TO EQUATE THE PLO WITH THE
PALESTINIANS?

HUSAYN: IN THEORY THE PLO IS REPRESENTING THE WISHES
OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. BUT IT STILL HAS TO SEEK
HARD TO IMPROVE ITSELF, IN ORDER TO MAKE SURE THAT IT
IS REALLY REPRESENTING THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE, ITS
HOPES AND EXPECTATIONS. THE PLO MUST NOT BE FORCED
ON THE PALESTINIANS, AS PERHAPS HAS HAPPENED, BECAUSE
THIS PEOPLE HAS NEVER HAD A CHANCE TO EXERCISE
ITS RIGHT FOR SELF-DETERMINATION. END QUOTE
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS COMMENTS, TEXT, MINISTERIAL VISITS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 16-Feb-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BONN02881
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770055-0433
Format: TEL
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770238/aaaabgxc.tel
Line Count: 360
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 441d4bc6-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3311077
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: INTERVIEW WITH KING HUSAYN BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL
TAGS: PFOR, JO, IS, GE, (HUSAYN, KING), (HASSAN, PRINCE)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/441d4bc6-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009